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The Profumo Affair

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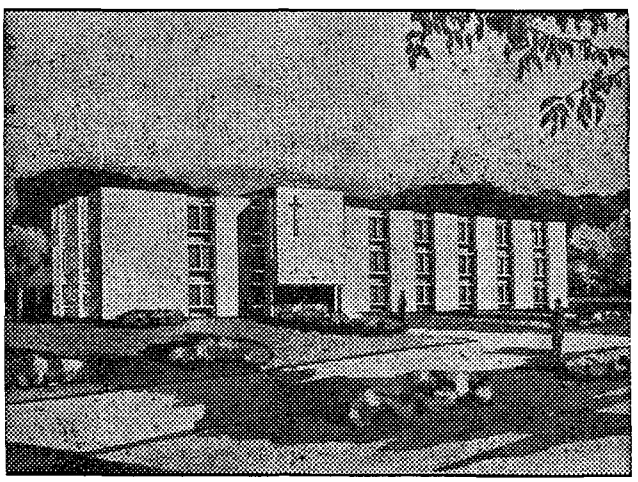

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THE COMMONWEAL

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Russia and China

ONE DAY's newspapers told the story of rising hope for disarmament: a picture of W. Averell Harriman arriving in the Soviet Union for nuclear test-ban talks, and a news story about the 21,000-word letter by the Soviet Central Committee, with its blunt attack on Red China and its long argument that nuclear disarmament is possible and necessary. As recently as ten days ago, the feeling was that Mr. Harriman would just be going through the motions—that his trip was viewed by the Soviets as a welcome counterweight to the Chinese—and little more. But the bitterness of the Russia-China differences has placed Mr. Harriman's trip in a new perspective.

In denouncing the Chinese, and in revealing the fulness of the Communist schism to the Russian people for the first time, the Soviet statement accused China of fabrications and fantastic irresponsibility in foreign affairs. Stripped of its assurances that Communism will triumph peacefully, the statement appraises the threat of China almost in Western terms. Its sober passages on the horrors of war (which we can assume are not idly commented on publicly in a nation that lost 12 million men in World War II) are followed by a long argument on the desperate need to head off a nuclear conflict. Warning China that the atom bomb "does not adhere to the class principle," but "destroys everybody within range," the Soviet Committee sarcastically said of the Chinese position: "The main thing, don't you see, is to put an end to imperialism as quickly as possible: but how, with what losses—this seems to be a secondary question. To whom, it is right to ask, is it secondary? To the hundreds of millions of people who are doomed to death in the event of the unleashing of a thermonuclear war? To the states that will be erased from the face of the earth in the very first hours of such a war? No one, including big states, has the right to play with the destinies of millions of people. Those who do not want to exert efforts to exclude world war . . . deserve condemnation." Later on the statement says that saving mankind from nuclear war is the "*primary* task of the Communist parties" (italics ours).

MISTRUST of Communism and the Russian record of manipulating disarmament talks for propaganda purposes should not be allowed to obscure the opportunity here for the West. Khrushchev has committed his prestige, in an official policy statement to all Communists throughout the world, to the propositions that the East can do business with the West, that President Kennedy is a "reasonable man," and that nuclear disarmament must be a prime aim of all Communists.

Premier Khrushchev, for his part, is a "reasonable man" where the primary interests of Soviet Russia are concerned. At the moment those interests would appear to be to avoid having hard-won gains of the Communist revolution wiped out by a have-not nation with little to lose, and to reach a firm accommodation with either China or the West to avoid the predicament of having enemies on two fronts.

It is difficult to believe that Russia is not as wary of China as the West. Historically, Russia has had strong reasons for keeping China weak. China's history of racism and expansionism dates back well before the twentieth century, and it is not lost upon the Soviets that the natural pressure from China's exploding population would not be to the densely populated southeast but to the open Russian areas to the north and west. (Stalin, it should be remembered, supported Chiang Kai-shek's government and several commentators have suggested that ideology carried so little weight with him that he would have preferred a weak anti-Communist regime in China to a strong Communist one.)

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China's attempts to undermine Russian leadership within the Communist camp have taken many forms, including racism—the attempt to identify Russians with the white Western world, and thus to exclude them from leading the revolutionary cause in Asia and Africa. Closely allied to this is China's claim that Russia has become a rich "status quo" nation shedding its revolutionary fervor. This is perhaps the most telling charge, and to the extent that it is true, it probably carries the hopes of the West for an accord with Russia.

According to ideology, Russian and Chinese national interests are submerged in favor of world revolution. But in reality national interests come first. What China senses (and what de Gaulle senses) is that prosperity has affected Russia's self-interest, and that ties of culture, color and economics give Russia strong reason to align itself with "status quo" nations of the West.

It is important that our own national policy of flexibility—to give Russia every chance for an accord with the West—not be threatened by domestic political pressure based on an oversimple view of the Communist world, or closed-minded demands for "victory" in the cold war—whatever that might mean. It is not necessary to view Khrushchev as a warm-hearted Western liberal, yet it is important to see that ideology does not tell the whole story about his policies or Russian national interests. It might be remembered, too, that while everyone stands foursquare for vigilance, the provocative brand of anti-Communism does not improve chances for an accord with Russia. Khrushchev was puzzled (so were we) when Kennedy's conciliatory speech at American University was followed so closely by the needlessly aggressive one at the Berlin wall. And our own right-wing extremists do not go unnoticed in Russia: the New York *Daily News*' recent simple-minded editorial entitled "Let's encourage Red Russia and Red China to claw each other to pieces" was cited in the Soviet Central Committee statement as a representative bit of U.S. malevolence.

Not Words But Acts

BECAUSE the gap between religious beliefs and the acts of believers has so often been astonishing to the Negro, the upsurge of religious participation in civil rights demonstrations is particularly gratifying. The New York *Times* has offered the editorial opinion that a historic milestone was reached by the participation of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic churchmen in the Gwynn Oak Amusement Park demonstration of July 4. Whether or not this is so, it is difficult to underrate the psychological impact of a photo showing a high-ranking clergyman such as Dr. Eugene Carson Blake being jailed for acting on his belief in integration. We can suppose a similar impact was had by the accompanying news stories saying he was joined in the demonstration by the Protestant chaplain of Yale, a leading Rabbi, and a Monsignor representing the Archbishop of Baltimore.

Since the July 4 incident, religious participation in civil rights demonstrations has mounted rapidly. Certainly Catholic participation has never seemed greater. Priests, joined by nuns (Chicago), lay-delegates from parishes (Maryland) and seminarians (Woodlawn-Chicago) are taking a hand in more and more demonstrations. Their participation recognizes that at this stage of the civil rights struggle, men put themselves on record by their actions. At the same time, action becomes the best form of preaching. Bishop Helmsing's simple announcement that he would be unable to appear at any hotel or club that practices segregation, or the statements of several bishops that contractors who discriminate in hiring need not apply for diocesan contracts—these acts, like the appearance of priests at civil rights rallies, outweigh a thousand sermons. As Protestant Episcopal Bishop Stephen F. Bayne said recently in connection with integration efforts, "Men are not saved by words, but by acts."

Vietnam Controversy

AS SO OFTEN happens when Catholic interests are involved in a major incident abroad, a series of news stories in the secular press is challenged by accounts written exclusively for the American Catholic press. The incident here is the dispute between President Diem and a group of South Vietnamese Buddhists. According to most reports —we recall the Associated Press, the New York *Times* and the *New Republic*—there was ample evidence of religious tensions between a Catholic-dominated government and Buddhists, representing a majority of the people. The dissenting reports

SUMMER SCHEDULE

In keeping with the usual practice, The Commonweal will again appear on alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. Forthcoming issues will be dated as follows: August 9, August 23, September 6, and September 20. From then on The Commonweal will resume its normal weekly printing schedule.

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were filed from Saigon by Father Patrick O'Connor, SSC, former president of the Catholic Press Association and a roving correspondent in the Far East for NCWC News—the news service of the American bishops. Father O'Connor's reports, filed on a recent visit to Vietnam, deny that the government and the army are dominated by Catholics, and says that the term "persecution of Buddhists" is too strong to accurately describe the situation. Buddhist complaints, he says, have been filed in only three of the nation's forty-one provinces. He reports that charges of Catholic domination are unrealistic since only five of seventeen cabinet ministers and only three of the nineteen generals are Catholic.

The difficulties of trying to sort out the facts from an editorial chair in New York are plain enough. On the one hand we have the American secular press corps saying—in brief reports—that the Diem regime has been guilty of rather heavy-handed discrimination against, if not persecution of, Buddhists. On the other hand Father O'Connor has marshalled a number of statistics, including the number of Buddhist pagodas built by Diem, in an effort to refute the charges. In our opinion, however, Father O'Connor's stories do not go to the heart of the charges raised in the secular news reports: that indefensible acts of discrimination by the Diem regime are being justified in the name of Catholicism.

The reporters of the secular press may all have been wrong in their interpretation, but they have not been shown to be. Since there is no reason to suspect a conspiracy on the part of the rival full-time reporters for the secular press, it would seem that the burden of proof is still on the NCWC writer. In the meantime we regret that once again the reports given credence in the Catholic press diverge so greatly from what the most reputable secular papers report.

FROM BRITAIN

The Profumo Affair

Leeds

BRITAIN seems to be recovering from the Profumo affair, though there remains a slender possibility that fresh revelations will inject new life into it. The reports of the preliminary hearings of the case against Stephen Ward, the London osteopath through whose offices so many of the principal characters in the affair seem to have met Miss Keeler and Miss Rice-Davies, have been greedily devoured, and Miss Keeler's memoirs appear in weekly instalments in the *News of the World*, a Sunday newspaper which has always devoted much of its space to reports of sexual crimes and oddities. The official inquiry which the Government has asked Lord Denning to make has begun and it may be that his report on the security aspects of the case will, even in the truncated form in which it will presumably be given to the public, create some excitement. But the period of crisis is plainly over.

Mr. Macmillan has been declared to be an honorable man, though there is a common feeling that he has shown himself a negligent Prime Minister. Mr. Profumo has gone into the exile of private life. The Labor party, certain of victory at the next election, has behaved with much greater restraint than some of the back-bench Tory members of Parliament, and is now only interested in the case as an illustration of the general incompetence of the Government in matters touching security. The Philby case provided another illustration and it is widely believed that there are more to come.

What really is the significance of the Profumo affair? Many historical parallels, or what are held to be such, have been drawn. The Parnell case, for example, has been cited. All that this parallel seems to show is the truth of Marx's aphorism, that of course history repeats itself, but the first time is tragedy, the second farce.

No one can seriously argue that the amiable and sociable Mr. Profumo is properly to be compared with the great Parnell. Both men, it is true, were driven from office, not on account of what their private lives were known to be, but because their private lives became matters of public knowledge. In Parnell's case Catholic and nonconformist opinion was deeply stirred by the news of Parnell's adultery. In Profumo's case there has been a certain amount of highly-colored indignation in religious quarters; but no one (outside the editorial offices of the London *Times*) has taken this very seriously. Indignation, and that chiefly among the politically conscious rather than among the general public, has centered upon two points: that Profumo should have shared a mistress with the Assistant Naval Attaché at the Soviet Embassy; and that he should have lied about the matter in the House of Commons and—a wonderful piece of impudence—have successfully prosecuted for libel those who printed what he was later compelled to admit was the truth.

Much stress has been laid upon Profumo's iniquity in lying to the House of Commons, as though lying by responsible politicians were something rare and

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almost inconceivable. When one reflects upon the prevarication of successive governments over half a dozen issues in recent years, from Stafford Cripps's assurance that the pound would not be devalued to the lies told, to the House of Commons and to our allies, during the Suez crisis, one can only marvel at the insolence, or the self-deception, of political persons. Profumo lied, grossly, stupidly, for he could scarcely have supposed he could get away with it, conceivably not even sure that his colleagues really wanted him to speak the truth; but he lied to keep from the public knowledge and from his wife a silly affair with a venal girl who lost no time in selling his last love-letter to a salacious Sunday newspaper, the *Sunday Pictorial* (now the *Sunday Mirror*). One suspects that there is in fact much sympathy with Profumo, though for obvious reasons it finds very little expression in the press.

Those who know of the now famous *Times* leading article entitled "It *is* a Moral Issue" and the many vituperative and moralizing letters provoked by it may want to question my assertion that there has been little genuine moral indignation over the case. The writer in *The Times* treated the case as symbolizing a state of moral decay for which the Government was in some way responsible. In this it was in sharp contrast with most of the other newspapers which tended to take the line, or at least to say things with the implication, that a man's private life is his own business, and that what was wrong in Profumo's conduct was that his private life was such that he exposed himself to blackmail and thus imperilled the security for which, as Minister for War, he was responsible.

A minority of those who wrote to *The Times* pointed out that there is no reason whatever to suppose that there is more sexual immorality among public men than there used to be. One writer recalled that Gladstone had said that in his lifetime he had known thirteen prime ministers of whom eleven were adulterers. It was also pointed out in the London *Tablet* that the life of politics contains so much boredom and busy idleness and is so incompatible with a settled domestic life that politicians are exposed to peculiar temptations. Certainly, the notion that British political life is uniquely corrupt or that it compares unfavorably in moral terms with that of the Victorian age seems to have little foundation.

ALL THE SAME, it seems to me that there *is* something symbolic about the Profumo affair, though it is like symbolic themes in literature in that it is extraordinarily difficult to say what the precise value of the symbol is. In some ways it resembles the Montesi scandal in Italy. The world of Dr. Stephen Ward, Miss Keeler and Miss Rice-Davies is one with extraordinary ramifications, stretching from the depths of shabby dance bands and professional abortionists right up to the giddy social level represented by the Cliveden swimming-pool, with its clientèle of noblemen, millionaires and cabinet ministers. That Mr. Profumo's first encounter with Miss Keeler should have occurred at Cliveden is perhaps a matter of accident; but it may be held to represent the enormous carelessness of the English upper classes today. There may always have been a great deal of humbug in the talk about the obligations of rank; but in the relinquishing of any claims, however pretentious, to moral leadership on the part of the old ruling classes we may see the end of one era and the beginning of another.

What the character of this new era will be depends greatly upon the force, the intelligence and the moral sensitiveness of the leaders of the Labor party. It will be very easy for a Labor Government to evade the challenge set by a society which has solved the problem of primary poverty. It is plain that in a society of this kind the ordinary decencies determine the order of social priorities. Housing, schools, hospitals, the care of the old, aid to the undeveloped countries: these are surely the first claims upon a relatively affluent society. Chasing prostitution off the streets and pornography out of the bookshops, these are hypocritical exercises in a society which neglects the essential priorities.

There does not appear to have been any specifically Catholic reaction to the Profumo affair. Certain sections of Catholic opinion are, of course, always excited by public disclosures of sexual immorality and rush to account for them in terms of the falling away of society from religious practice. To be frank, those societies in which religion has a more important social role than it has in modern Britain are not conspicuously successful in solving this particular problem. It is even true that the shrillness, the feverishness, of some religious denunciations of sexual faults represent an ill-balanced view of sexuality and a refusal to accept it for what it is within the order of creation.

Most remarkable of all, there is the general disposition to get excited about fornication co-existing with a steady refusal to get excited about murder. Here I have in mind, not the relatively rare crime for which in this civilized country the penalty is that a man shall be hanged by the neck until he is dead, but the preparations for mass slaughter with nuclear weapons. Future historians, if there should be any, will marvel that in the years when the ICBMs were in a state of continual readiness to incinerate vast populations the greatest shock to the moral sensibility of the British people should have been a liaison between a politician and a prostitute.

J. M. CAMERON

(Mr. Cameron is a member of the philosophy faculty at Leeds University.)

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He Has Turned the White Person into the Invisible Man

James Baldwin's Vision

JAMES FINN

RACISM is a festering evil that has been steadily oozing its poison into our society for over three centuries. It has, over all these years, been growing to a head, and now, when it appears that this running sore can no longer be contained, there is open and justifiable fear that any attempt to lance it will result in a bloody mess. An ugly image, but faithful to the reality.

Every day the newspapers report some new gain in the Negro's fight for equality in this country. And every day the racial tensions in our land mount higher, the dissatisfaction and resentment of the Negro are voiced more clearly and the danger of widespread, violent conflict increases. The upsurge now pursuing its impressive, frightening course, is only the most recent manifestation of a spirit which grows increasingly stronger.

This struggle for equality may well dominate American politics in the near future. For one thing, the conditions of the black man are changing rapidly both in this country and abroad, and only a knave or a fool could say that these changes are not related. For another, America now has a great number of articulate Negro leaders—in politics, business, sports, the arts, the ministry—and their collective voice is fully capable of interpreting these changing conditions, and calling for greater changes. There are still Negro leaders who caution against undue expectations and undue haste, but whether they have much to offer those who have been inspired by the 1954 Supreme Court decision and embittered by the pace of the "deliberate speed" is questionable. And the fact is that few Negroes are willing even to ask the question.

It was a commonplace some years ago to hear that the racial problem in this country had been solved, theoretically. For almost all right-thinking people supposedly recognized the rights of the Negro and it was merely a matter of time before the others would be won over and the barriers would fall. There would, of course, always be the few, unredeemable racists, but History would sweep over them as pebbles in the path.

It has not worked that way. The Negro drive is gaining force and speed as it approaches barriers that are raised even higher. And all the large questions are posed once again, in a more demanding context. The white liberal, particularly, is going through some of the embarrassment suffered by the Southern school that dispatched missionaries to convert the pagan black man, and was then puzzled by the converted black man who wished to acknowledge this kindness by returning to teach in the segregated school. Conversion was one thing, but integration another.

SIGNS OF OUR present confusion abound, but James Baldwin's latest book (*The Fire Next Time*, Dial, $3.50) has served as a convenient lightning rod for much of it. It deserves all the attention, if not all the kinds of attention, it has received. To admire the brilliant essay simply as a "great literary document" that adds to the Baldwin canon and not as an outraged act, as a great *J'accuse* hurled at the white race, at Western civilization and at Christianity, is not to take it seriously. Racism has hurt Baldwin into poetry, but it has also hurt him into a great deal of dangerous nonsense and it would be well to point this out before his eloquent voice adds to the harmful myths.

Logic and internal consistency are not the virtues that lend power to this essay, which is full of contradictory statements and isolated insights. The following typical passages lack the intellectual fairness and emotional balance of Baldwin's earlier essays; they are foolish in themselves and might be acknowledged as such by Baldwin if he were ever called upon to defend them.

Baldwin writes: "White people cannot, in the generality, be taken as models of how to live." Of course they cannot, but neither can the black, the yellow or the red. One does not look to the generality of any race for the model; one looks to the exemplar. Here, and throughout the book, Baldwin has turned the white person into the invisible man; he is not really seen as he is. It is not a failure in Baldwin's expression, but a failure to meet the reality.

And again: "White people in this country will have quite enough to do in learning how to accept and love themselves and each other, and when they have

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achieved this—which will not be tomorrow and may very well be never—the Negro problem will no longer exist, for it will no longer be needed." Precisely, especially if Negroes learn the same lesson, which was a lesson of Christianity before it was a lesson of Freud. For when we were enjoined to love our neighbor as ourselves it was not suggested that the self-love which was intended was an easy attainment.

Of Western civilization: "The only real advantages Russia has in what we think of as a struggle between the East and West is the moral history of the Western world." Baldwin has immense personal moral authority, but when he uses it, as here, to hold aloft what we are asked to regard as a truth of elephantine proportions and we see that it is only an ill-fed mouse, the result is dispiriting.

On Christianity: ". . . the fact of the Third Reich alone makes obsolete forever any question of Christian superiority, except in technological terms." And again "It is not too much to say that whoever wishes to become a truly moral human being . . . must first divorce himself from all the prohibitions, crimes, and hypocrisies of the Christian church. If the concept of God has any validity or any use, it can only be to make us larger, freer, and more loving. If God cannot do this, then it is time we got rid of Him."

SUCH SWEEPING charges are, of course, easier to make than to refute. The Third Reich is such a searing comment on our civilization—it involves the entire question of violence in the twentieth century—that I don't think we have yet fully grasped it. And Baldwin does not help by his attempt to use it as a headstone for Christianity. Nor does he allow the possibility that if one divorces himself from the crimes and hypocrisies of Christianity that he will become more, not less, of a Christian. Further, if our concept of God is faulty it is not God that we should get rid of but our concept. And if our concept is one of a white God or of a black God there is small loss.

The whole point of this catalogue, which could be extended, is not to dismiss Baldwin or to dispute with him on particular questions; it is, rather, to make more clear the particular act of courage which he displays in this essay. What he has done is to show what can happen to an intelligent sensitive American who is forced to judge the most intimate as well as the most ultimate questions on the accidental consideration of color. Because of that, Baldwin has confused his vision of man with his vision of the white man; because of that, he cannot separate the problems of growing up to be a black man from the problems of growing up to be a man. Because the black man has been exploited and oppressed by white Christians who misused their power, he attributes the evils to Christianity and to whiteness rather than to the condition of fallen men who are always tempted to misuse power and have all too seldom resisted. Because of this he would discard Western civilization and Christianity which are precisely those sources from which all Americans must draw sustenance in the fight for equal rights unless the issue is to be decided simply on the basis of power.

For there is no stronger basis on which to assert the dignity and value of the person than our Judeo-Christian heritage (however badly it is served in practice) nor a more certain and honorable way to assure their protection in society than by the structure of law and order which has developed in Western civilization. If the high ideals of our liberal Western tradition have been badly served we are not likely to improve the performance of men by offering them lesser ideals.

All of these things Baldwin knows and could state with great force. But he has rejected them because they have so often been used to defend the indefensible. And, rejecting them, he has stripped himself bare, for he has not even attempted to put anything in their place. His essay is an act of desperation designed to show himself, and other American Negroes, as desperate men armed only with righteous accusations.

In the February issue of *Commentary*, Norman Podhoretz has written an essay, "My Negro Problem—and Ours," which is at least in part a response to Baldwin's essay. With subtlety and sensitivity he has attempted to uncover and expose not only his own feelings about Negroes but the reasons for having such feelings —and then to answer the question of "what now?" The essay is moving and disturbing and the various responses to the essay, now appearing in current issues of *Commentary*, are equally so. Ranging widely in opinion and manner, they make clear the vast confusion in which we all swim when we discuss Negro-white relations in this country. For the lines of communication are down and we find people whose assumptions are largely our own reaching conclusions which are distinctly not.

There is, for example, much that I would agree with in Podhoretz' essay, but I find his conclusion both repugnant and unhelpful. Like the American Negro, he writes, he would like to make color irrelevant, but he does not see how this will happen unless color *in fact* disappears.

"I believe," he writes, "that the wholesale merging of the two races is the most desirable alternative for everyone concerned. I am not claiming that this alternative can be pursued programmatically or that it is immediately feasible as a solution. . . . What I am saying, however, is that in my opinion the Negro problem can be solved in this country in no other way."

There are several things wrong with this statement. If "wholesale merging of the two races" ever occurs in this country it will be not as a solution to the problem but because the problem has already been

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solved. Further a "solution" for American social problems that disregards the rest of the world is incredibly parochial. But basically the flaw is that Podhoretz would get rid of the Negro problem by getting rid of the Negroes. He would get rid of racism by getting rid of the races. His is a benign variant of a solution already cruelly visited upon our times.

What we must do instead—and it is a task our society makes as difficult as the solution Podhoretz offers—is to accept the Negro as a person whose innate dignity and value are neither more nor less than our own. The basis of this acceptance, for Catholics at least, was put in these terms by William J. Kenealy, S.J., who wrote in the May issue of *Social Order*:

"Popes and bishops, dogmatic and moral theologians, seminary and university professors, the unanimous judgment of the teaching Church is that racism, with its segregations and discriminations, is morally wrong. It is a cancer in the body politic. It is a desecration of Christian civilization. It is a blasphemy in the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ. It is, with reverence and accuracy, a God-damned thing."

All of this seems far from the streets of Birmingham. But the problem of racism must obviously be coped with on several levels. Both Baldwin and Podhoretz have contributed greatly on one level by their courageous acts of offering personal experience, of bearing witness. But in his essay, Baldwin also wrote that the liberation must take place "in the cities, in the towns, before the law and in the mind." And here he has established a list of practical and realistic priorities.

There may never be a total solution to what we have termed "the Negro problem"—the problem of Negro-white relations in this country. There is certainly going to be no swift apocalyptic solution. There is at best going to be a hard gruelling fight where even those who are making the most lasting contributions will be looked at askance. And it will be won first in the cities and in the towns, sometimes in defiance of the law, but primarily by means of the law. And then—when Negroes have had a chance to develop their real abilities and talents; when they are no longer looked down upon because they have in fact been thrust down; when they cease to occupy more than their proportionate share of the lowest rungs of the economic, social, political and educational ladders—then the liberation in the mind will take place. To say that this liberation must take place institutionally, that there must be priorities established is to recommend no easy solution. It may not even be able to prevent great bloodshed. But it has the merit of regarding us all—white and black—neither as beasts who cannot change nor as angels above the dirt of battle, but as men who can work to improve the time and the conditions which have been granted them.

Peace—at a Price

Settlement in Steel

THOMAS R. BROOKS

THE STEEL settlement, with its promise of industrial peace at last, is to say the least a very good one indeed. The cost of the settlement to the industry is well within the sorely tried Presidential guidelines for collective bargaining. The extended vacation plan is an imaginative innovation in an area generally gone stale. Once every five years, one-half of the industry's employees with the longest seniority will get 13 weeks vacation at a stretch. This will give added zest to steel workers' lives and create additional jobs though the union's estimate of 20-25,000 may turn out too high. The strife-free settlement extends for another two years the industral peace that has prevailed within the steel industry since the 116-day strike in 1959. After January 1, 1965, either party can re-open the agreement on 120-day notice—an open-end arrangement that seems to promise continued peace in steel labor relations.

Yet the way it was done casts doubt upon the future of collective bargaining as a viable form of industrial democracy. The steel talks were conducted in a secrecy reminiscent of John L. Lewis's locked-room sessions with the coal barons, a secrecy incompatible with our notion of unions as democratic institutions—a notion, incidentally, incorporated into the nation's labor law by the Taft-Hartley amendments of 1959. Initially Lewis's conferences were successful. They brought high wages, hospitals and other welfare benefits for the miners, a free hand on automation for the coal operators. But today angry, hungry miners haunt the hills of Kentucky

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and Tennessee with guns at the ready. Union hospitals are shut down along with the marginal coal pits. This grim outcome of "pressure-free" bargaining ought to give pause to our praise of year-round, "continuously" negotiating labor-management committees, the latest development in collective bargaining.

Automation, with its far-reaching potential for change in our lives, brought on a crisis in collective bargaining, a crisis now receding before a wave of "study" committees set up to discover "bases for agreement" between labor and management. Periodic bargaining, hitched to a two-three year contract cycle, is giving way to the new committee system of continual bargaining. The bargaining crisis now fading from the scene was marked by a series of strikes—from the 116-day 1959 steel strike to the 114-day New York newspaper strike and lockout—that posed issues that get to the guts of any real attempt at industrial democracy. Who owns the job? Are workers to participate in the decisions on when and how to automate? Who is to determine work practices, the size of crews and who is to do what work? How are the gains from automation to be split? What role, if any, are workers (and possibly the public) to have in industrial planning? The answers are implicit in recent collective bargaining developments and these developments throw into question, or at least raise serious doubts about, the future of industrial democracy.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, as Malcolm L. Denise of Ford Motor Company reminds us, "is a continuous, never-ending, enormously complicated process." It is also, as the Ford labor relations vice president goes on to say, many things to many men. For some of us, however, it is important because it is an instrument, imperfect though it may be, of industrial democracy. Collective bargaining gives laboring men and women some say about the conditions of work. More than that, the pitting of the countervailing power of the union against that of the corporation sometimes opens a crack in the institutionalism that engulfs us, affording the individual worker an additional measure of freedom. But this is a by-product of a process considered by many to be central to the opening up of democracy in industry.

Compared to the time when working men had little or nothing to say about the conditions of their employment, collective bargaining has achieved much. In the 1961 auto negotiations, for example, elected representatives of the industry's workers discussed with management issues that ranged from the procedure through which a man can file a grievance against his foreman to the control of investment policies for a nine-figure pension fund, from the rules governing personal leaves of absence to the right of management to locate plants and introduce new methods, from safety glasses to profit-sharing, and from toilet time to placing hourly employees on a salaried basis. Yet, though American industry plans on a scale few governments match, the unions prefer to skirt the issue of worker participation in the planning process. Management initiates action; the individual worker is confined to a carefully circumscribed challenge—via grievances—of the effect any such action may have on himself. The same holds for the workers collectively; management can decide to move a plant; the union cannot challenge that decision although it can make it costly by insisting on the carry-over of seniority and job rights from the old to the new plant, transfer and severance pay and so on.

Whenever the unions have gone beyond this limited role—that of challenging decisions already made—they have been defeated. When the United Auto Workers in 1945, for instance, demanded that the industry open its books, pegging a proposed wage increase to stable prices and a reasonable profit, industry, government and other unions ganged up, knocked the proposal on the head and proceeded to tie wages to an inflationary spiral that lasted a decade. The setback of the UAW served to remove the unions outside the pale of post World War II planning.

However, though the unions did not directly participate in corporate planning, they were "used" in planning by management. As Daniel Bell has demonstrated, each major post-war strike and concomitant wage increase served as an excuse to jack up prices and as a means of lowering corporate break-even points (the lowest percentage of operating capacity needed to make a profit). In return for this "service," the giant unions won high wages and still greater fringe-benefits. But such a development was only possible in the "Fat Fifties," years when demand—consumer and government—ran high. The unions during these years were given their head. The slackening of demand toward the end of the decade coupled with the growth of automation began to put a crimp in management's free-hand style.

The 1959 steel strike signalled a management effort to curtail the unions. Significantly, nearly every major industry or corporation, has had to take a strike to drive the lesson of restraint home to the unions. The 33-day Atlantic & Gulf coast longshore strike and the 114-day New York newspaper shutdown of last winter are the latest—if not the last—in this strike series. For the first time since 1945 when the UAW raised the question of a possible role for the unions in economic planning, issues of industrial democracy were at the center of labor-management controversy. Ownership and control of the job, who and what determines the rate of automation, the contracting out of work, plant investment, all kinds of work practices—all these were open for debate.

Much of this debate took place outside the hotel

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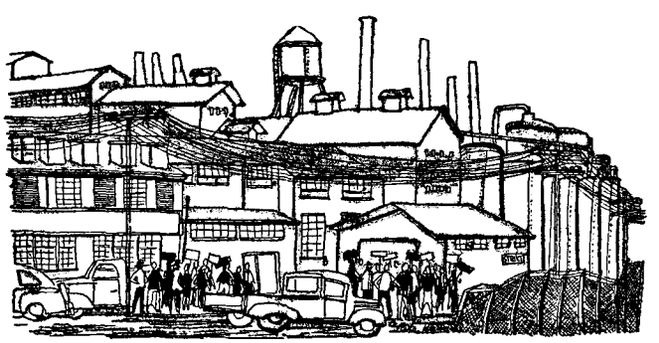
rooms where management and union men whiled away their time as strikes dragged on. The public interest was aroused and the government began to intervene. Even the Eisenhower Administration looked askance at the collective bargaining crisis developing under its aegis; the Kennedy Administration actively fostered third-party intervention. Here was an opportunity for an industrial "opening to the left" by an imaginative Administration. A third party, whether a governmental or lay figure, could pry planning, or important aspects of planning, out of management's selfish, solitary grasp.

To a very limited degree, this did happen in Kaiser steel. Of all the current rash of "study" or permanent bargaining committees, the Kaiser committee is the only one with public members. The Kaiser "Long-Range" Committee came up with a so-far successful "shared-savings" plan. (Last March, some 3,930 Kaiser employees split $312,000—their third of $962,000 in savings—for an average bonus of $75 for the month.) Oddly enough, the plan gives the union at least a glimpse of company books (how else can "savings" be determined?) which is at least an opening in corporate workings. Be that as it may, however, the overall bargaining crisis did open up for question the economic, social and political impact of automation. Third-party intervention in the automation-centered crisis could have been leverage for more, not less, industrial democracy.

BUT THE KENNEDY Administration just as clearly places a greater value on industrial peace than on industrial democracy, however mild. The pressure of intervention was pressure for peace no matter how obtained with the only ceiling one of cost. "We cannot afford strikes affecting the national interest," was the New Frontier line—a line, incidentally, at variance with the facts. We have not had any strikes seriously affecting the national interest in over a decade. Sam Romer, the able labor correspondent for the Minneapolis *Tribune*, has pointed out that all during the longshoremen's strike, ships arrived daily on the West Coast, trains ran and trucks rolled. America's vast heartland, in his opinion, was scarcely affected by the dock walkout. Still, the myth is effective in newspaper editorial offices and in Washington.



Under pressure from the government, desirous of avoiding attention-getting strikes, labor and management have evolved a new technique, the so-called pre-bargaining "study" committees on which technicians from both sides either search for a basis of agreement or seek to define the areas of disagreement away from the heat of the bargaining table. Note that in most cases the parties engaged in "study" are also the ones who will bargain contract terms later. This is the ultimate in professionalism in collective bargaining. Union leaders now are true "brokers" of the labor of union members.

Strike deadlines do, of course, intensify conflict. But the process traditionally has also called for a kind of active consultation between the rank-and-file and the union leadership. This is the guts of democratic unionism. Union demands, true enough, are frequently formulated at the top. Nonetheless, with a contract expiration in the cards carrying with it the possibility of a strike, these demands must be put to the members, argued, clarified and discussed at countless union meetings that bring out a greater number of participating members than all other union meetings. During this process, the union member does get at least the chance to test union demands against his own needs and wants. If the union demands are found wanting, there is a chance to make them over if enough wish it. As the union prepares for its periodic confrontation with corporate management, the union member usually is well aware of the issues, which ones he is willing to fight for and how much of a fight he would like to put up.

This process no doubt contributes to the "heat" of what Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz calls "countdown bargaining." Hence, the attractiveness of continual "secret" committee bargaining to New Frontiersmen. It also appeals to the professionalism of the Kennedy Administration. What disturbed so many about the New York newspaper strike was this lack of professionalism on the printers' side; the ITU is a democratic union and its negotiators were printers, not full-time professionals. Their officers when defeated go back to the linotype machines. The solution for the unruliness of collective bargaining is typical of the New Frontier: throw the question into committee. Negotiators are to be isolated from the passions of deadline bargaining, and, incidently, from those of rank-and-file union members.

"We have found," says Ford's Denise of continual, informal exchange between labor and management professionals, "that this kind of communication flourishes best when no one is trying to overreach or to make a production out of it, or to score public relations points." This, of course, is central to the new way of bargaining. For management to observe these guidelines is no strain. Management is not democratically representative nor responsible to anyone outside of itself. For union

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bureaucracies, autocratic by inclination, the new way is also an escape from the bother of consultation with union members.

But the new way, especially in its secrecy and isolation from union members, is a contradiction to any vision of the unions as a democratic countervailing power to the autocracy of the corporate world. It is not in keeping with any notion of industrial democracy. And, it contradicts the assumptions underlying the union members' bill-of-rights provisions of the labor law.

But if the steel settlement is a clue to the future outcome of parallel developments in the electrical-goods manufacturing and auto industries, the new joint committees can be said to work. For most Americans, this apparently is enough. But is it? When one looks at the coal industry one wonders.

Conflict in Vietnam

Diem and the Buddhists

HENRY G. FAIRBANKS

ONE CRISIS has followed another in South Vietnam. Almost with the first drops of the monsoon, on May 8th, government troops clashed with Buddhist demonstrators in Hué over the right to fly the Buddhist flag alongside the orange and red national colors. When order had been restored, nine demonstrators lay dead—slain, so the Buddhists claim, by the direct fire of the troops; killed, according to the Government's account, by the explosion of a Viet Cong grenade hurled into the crowd as the soldiers fired warning shots over their heads. Regrettably, there was no foreign correspondent in Hué on May 8th, nor for the following four days.

Although a plausible case can be made for both stories, the Buddhist version won quick acceptance when reported in the American press, especially because it was followed so closely by riots in Saigon and the protest-suicide of the bonze, Thich Quang Duc. For, as at Hué, the Diem Government showed an obduracy which lent support to the mounting charges of repression and persecution.

Whether or not (as the Vietnamese government still maintains) the tragedy at the old Imperial capital was engineered by Communists to divide Vietnam internally and to divert American support from President Diem, it could not have worked better to secure these ends. Considering the vital stake that the United States has in holding its position in Southeast Asia the current situation is truly dangerous.

The American commitment in Vietnam, not the fate of the Diem regime, is of crucial importance. This commitment could have withstood the exasperations occasioned by Mr. Diem's inflexibility, or a continuing imbalance between Vietnamese imports and exports—it might even have taken another Dienbienphu in stride. But this jab at the hypersensitive plexus of religion and individual rights provoked sharp pain in the U.S. It broke into the American press amid the strong reaction to the Court decision on Bible reading in the schools and the racial-justice demonstrations. By monotonous repetition in every release coming out of Saigon, such phrases as "the Roman Catholic Government of Ngo Dinh Diem" and "the preponderantly Buddhist majority of Vietnam" painted a tyrant-martyr dyptich awakening old fears of Catholic "authoritarianism."

It is not enough to point out that this image of daubs and patches is more caricature than portrait—of both Diem and Buddhism in Vietnam. Diem may have become increasingly insulated from reality since the brilliant reconstruction of "the first five years," but he is not cruel, much less ruthless. Yet, after May 8th, the former apologies for his reliance on strength and nepotism can no longer suffice to rationalize continuing support of him by the United States. There are, however, a few things which ought to be said, less in extenuation than explication.

FIRST, there is the matter of statistics. The "predominantly Catholic regime of Mr. Diem" rests on no census, of either the civil administration or of the armed forces. None has been taken. Of the numerous accredited correspondents currently in Vietnam, only one, evidently, has made any serious effort to sift the facts from the figures. Father Patrick O'Connor, a Columban priest attached to NCWC News Service, tried to cut through the tangles of gossip and myth for a clearer field of vision. His admittedly incomplete survey suggests that "predominantly R.C." ought to be modified to "disproportionately high," at most: five cabinet ministers out of seventeen; three generals out of nineteen; a non-

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Catholic vice-president, a non-Catholic chief-of-staff, a non-Catholic province chief in Hué itself on May 8th, as well as fewer than half of the country's other forty-three province chiefs.

The "disproportionately high" ratio of Catholics, moreover, need not be greeted with surprise. It is quite generally acknowledged that, of the more than 800,000 refugees pouring down from the North after the Geneva Accord of 1954, over 600,000 were Catholics—the largest single group in Indochina to reject co-existence with Communism and, logically, the group most energetic in opposing further Viet Minh expansion. Because they included many intellectuals and professionals from the environs of Hanoi, they imported a native element particularly well qualified to provide leadership in reorganization of the country after independence.

I suggest that the really divisive sentiments within Vietnam derive from sectionalist rather than religious rivalries (Southerner versus Northern "carpetbagger"), springing partly from displacement of the indolent, traditional residents of sleepy Annam and steamy Cochin China by the more vigorous émigrés from the cooler climate of Tonkin, and partly from the resentment felt by the French-favored aristocrats of the South for the more aggressively nationalistic newcomer. (The South had been directly administered by the French, with the complicity of native privileged classes often educated in Paris; whereas, in the North, the fiction of an independent empire had been maintained under a "protectorate.") Even in my own limited experience in Saigon, I could sense the Southerner's veiled resentment of the "parvenu" from Hanoi, though both were sometimes Catholic and both members of old families. Such antipathies, however, acquire an emotional edge only by forging a link with religion, thereby blunting the painful concession of any inferiority in competitive challenge. Outsiders especially respond to this oversimplification.

Seen in headlines only, or faintly from the other side of the globe, the Diem stand in the flag dispute appears wholly indefensible—especially if, as reported, the papal colors were being allowed a unique, favored position. In this case there is no need to strain to exculpate Diem's administration of one more imprudent, unnecessary provocation. The cross alone might have served as the symbol of Christianity and a reminder of a supra-temporal order, whereas the white and gold standard was less dissociable from the Vatican State. Nevertheless, there were special memories attached to sects and flag-flying in Vietnam which could not fail to revive official apprehensions when Buddhists clamored for the right to hang out their banners in Hué. The fears and scars of the Wars of the Sects are hardly eight years old in the new republic. Diem's first step in the consolidation of South Vietnam after Geneva had been to eliminate these formidable politico-religious groups which then maintained private armies and held considerable territory in the West (Cao Dai) and in the South (Hoa Hao).

Of these, the Hoa Hao was a dissident Buddhist sect. Originally subsidized by the French to fight the Viet Minh, it expanded its own power, with obvious intent to perpetuate it after withdrawal of the French Expeditionary Force. The majority of its units strenuously opposed the newly independent Vietnamese government in its infancy, joining the Binh Xuyen (river pirates and vice lords in Saigon) in the so-called "United National Front." Only with the capture and execution of its leader Ba Cut, as late as July 1956, was the last major Hoa Hao resistance liquidated. Against such a background, the emotions elicited by flag-flying on Buddha's birthday appear more politically complex than the American press has led us to believe.

ANOTHER oversimplification would reduce the problem to an equation of Diem's "authoritarianism" with Diem's "Catholicism"—taking no note of such diverse Catholic views in Vietnam as those expressed throughout the Archdiocese of Saigon in the recent pastoral letter of Archbishop Nguyen van Binh: "Every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience. . . . Every Catholic is bound to recognize and respect the principle of freedom of conscience." (As if to dissociate the Church from any endorsement of Government mistreatment of any citizens, Archbishop Binh had also quoted from Leo XIII's *Immortale Dei* to affirm a right separation of spiritual and temporal powers.)

While the simple equation "Catholic autocrat" is useful in arousing public opinion against Mr. Diem, and while, admittedly, Diem has blundered into widespread odium, it would be less blinding to attribute his paternalistic concept of government to his mandarin past and forebears than to his Catholic faith. For although the Ngo family, like so many Vietnamese families, has been Catholic since the seventeenth century; and although Mr. Diem himself is beyond question a devout Catholic, he is above all an Oriental, deeply imbued with the Confucian traditions which made Hué a little Peking, its Citadel an imitation of the Forbidden City, and Vietnam "the Lesser Dragon." Among the values transplanted from China was the image of the Emperor as the Son of Heaven and his authority as a reflection of divine law.

Diem's much-misunderstood "personalism," which has also been identified as a rationale for authoritarianism, is really as inimical to absolutism intrinsically as the integral humanism of Mounier and Maritain from which it derives. If Vietnamese personalism gives any encouragement to formation of a dictator complex (the reduction of diversity to formula by abstract reason), it is not because of its views on the nature of man and

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the state, but rather because of its humorless, logical treatment of society as a theorem and the citizen as a number.

Much more than Diem, who once was a practical, horse-riding circuit-mandarin in the hills of Annam, his brother Nhu shares the dangerous perfectibilarianism of Plato-the-Mathematician turned social scientist in *The Republic*. In Diem as *philosophe*, not as Catholic, the tyranny of reason unqualified by experience makes some rejoice that philosophers are not yet kings and others regret that brain-trusters must ever be ministers of state.

THE EMOTIONAL reactions set off against Diem in the pluralistic press of America have favored the Buddhists by the same unthinking oversimplifications—with the danger that we will not only impair our capacity for objective analysis of a very special foreign situation, but will lose sight of the main concern, which ought always to be the long-term interests of American foreign policy seen in a world-perspective. When we read statistics claiming an alleged Buddhist majority of between seventy and eighty percent in Vietnam, for example, we should be aware that this is at best a guess and, more than likely, a wild one.

The General Buddhist Association of Vietnam, as of 1962, recorded an inscribed membership enrollment of one million. It is true that this group is dedicated to preservation of traditional Buddhist orthodoxy throughout Vietnam and that it does not represent any Pan-Buddhist picture of the whole country. But it was estimated, not so long ago, that there were only three or four million practicing Buddhists in a total South Vietnamese population reckoned generally at between twelve and thirteen million.

Within Vietnam, moreover, Buddhism is not the usual Hinayana, or "Lesser Vehicle," Buddhism associated in the popular mind with contemplation and pacifism. Deriving from the Mahayana, or "Greater Vehicle," Buddhism more commonly associated with China, it has largely become mingled over the centuries, eclectically and indistinguishably, with Taoist magic and Confucianist ritual, especially after the intrusions of Lamaism in the fourteenth century. Following this period, Buddhism yielded the dominance which it had gained to a renascence of Confucian influence. It was this latter, principally, which determined values and forms in Vietnam until the French imperialist ventures of the last century.

Buddhism's influence in Vietnamese culture is considerable as a refining spiritual force. But, even to the casual observer, its institutional vitality in Vietnam is much less than the public evidences of Buddhist organization and pervasiveness in neighboring Cambodia and Thailand. The difference is already apparent at the borders, visible in the size and care of monasteries and pagodas, as well as in the numbers and appearance of monks and nuns. Individual saintliness testifies to Buddhism's lofty ideals in Saigon; but there is nowhere manifest the public impact which one cannot avoid encountering in Bangkok, for instance.

Perhaps this fact is due to the unique, compromising "realism" of much of Vietnamese Buddhism. It has been largely "sinicized," moralized, confucianized. It lacks the grand mystical flights of "The Lesser Vehicle." It is more positive and pragmatic, with considerable compromise in approval of the usual tokens of well-being and mundane commitment—no vegetarian qualms, for example, binding the peasant who catches a fat snake to free it and forego the juicy dish it promises for his table. In the Vietnamese adaptation of Buddhism, compassion may co-exist with common sense, and it does not necessarily preclude resort to violence.

What is imperative for us outsiders to realize is that any one-dimensional projections, of either Diemism or Buddhism, are likely to trick us into a specious separation of "goats" from "sheep." The illusions and passions of a holy war have no place in a serious assessment of our national interests. There are Catholics in Vietnam who oppose the "Catholic" oligarchy. There are Buddhists who command army corps loyal to the Diem government. Both are Vietnamese. There are Buddhist "southerners" who resent Hanoi refugees not because the latter are Catholic, but because they are Northern "usurpers." There are, happily, some Catholics who are also Christians; and, fortunately, some Buddhists who are Buddhists. It is all complicated enough to make us pause.

One thing is certain. We may hope that Mr. Diem will correct the myopia of his purely private vision, and trust that Mr. Lodge will remind him of the limits of our confidence. We cannot in conscience condone injustice in any system supported by America. But we have a stake in Asia that should not be obscured. Mr. Diem may not seem so nearly "indispensable" as a year ago. But, with China locked in a power-struggle with Russia, Vietnam was never less dispensable to the American image on the world scene.

Peace

Peace, you are a coral snake in early morning
For well I know your ways, your time of day,
Your pattern—"red and yellow kill a fellow."
I know the perfect order of your parts
And with sharp eyes have sought your splendid skin.
Now here's my sudden chance! Yet tranquilly
Your cousin sun bewitches every green
To red and gold, and I stand foolishly
With weapons, staring.

PATRICIA LAMB

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"Theology in the Catholic College"

Notre Dame, Ind.

TO THE EDITORS: In his article on "Theology in the Catholic College" [May 31], Father George H. Tavard, though limited in space, touched upon the major problems of the theology departments of our colleges. They are: the position and role of theology itself; the capabilities of the teachers; the content and method of the teaching; the full context of Christian living in the college community.

His insistence on a liturgical life as an inspiration as well as an expression of the theological teaching is most valuable. We might make explicit something which he surely intended, viz., that the preaching of the Word of God during the liturgical celebration also has a major part to play in the overall formation of the students.

Father Tavard states the dilemma of the theology department very well: on paper, theology forms the core of the curriculum, radiating into all the other disciplines, the arts and the sciences. This presupposes teachers of theology who are acquainted with major trends in the fields and teachers in the arts and sciences who are aware of the possible theological implications of their subjects. While Father Tavard is skeptical about the present ability of theology teachers and teachers in other fields to solve this dilemma (a bit too skeptical, perhaps, for it is being done), he does seem to believe that it is a function of the theology department that cannot be avoided. Might I add, it is especially pressing in our day, when the rival claims of the humanists and scientists can cause confusion in our students.

Father Tavard does not, I feel, give a completely fair picture of the competence of theology departments and teachers. Undoubtedly, situations such as he describes still exist. Yet, in the past ten years, through their own efforts and by means of the Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine (celebrating its tenth anniversary next year) extraordinary efforts have been made to transform the teaching of theology and to give it the position it deserves in the curriculum. I agree with Father Tavard's suggestion that laymen and laywomen be encouraged to join the fair number of laity already teaching or preparing to teach college theology.

It is when Father Tavard comes to the "fundamental choice" facing theology departments that I must disagree with him. The "choice" is, of course, between a "scholastic" and a "kerygmatic" approach. There is more than mere disagreement in the protest I must make against the caricature he gives of the "scholastic" approach. A "watered-down scholasticism" which "ignorance of Latin and an historical perspective" makes inappropriate for the college student.

"To believe that an outline more or less following the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas is a good vehicle of theological thought for college students is a preposterous idea." Besides Calvin, contemporary Protestant theologians, as Barth, Brunner and even Tillich, follow "more or less" the outline of the *Summa* in their systematic works. If Father Tavard is thinking about moral teaching, the most successful modern adaptations are based on principles which St. Thomas worked out with his meticulous methods.

It is rather difficult to see why St. Thomas is inadequate in theology, when his philosophical insights pervade the whole of that startling document *Pacem in Terris*. There is not a single principle stated in that document that is not from St. Thomas, including the explicit statement that one world authority is necessary if and when there is a world common good. It is interesting too to note that at a recent important meeting of scientists and religious leaders, discussing the problems of our atomic age, the only Catholic representatives were well-known disciples of St. Thomas.

Father Tavard does, I feel, an injustice to a large group of college theology teachers, who use the "scholastic" approach and manage to make of theology, not only a moving experience, but also an intellectually exciting experience. This latter is what the teacher trained in the purely kerygmatic approach will not be able to do much longer. At present, a good kerygmatic teacher (and they are as rare as good "scholastic" teachers), can arouse excitement, because he is dealing with students who have not had the kerygmatic approach. But what is the college theology teacher going to do when the kerygmatic approach (as it must) is given to the child by his parents, by his parish priest in the pulpit, by his teachers in the elementary and secondary schools. Isn't his reaction in the college classroom going to be what it too often is now: "Same old stuff"?

Beyond the "kerygma" (proclamation) there is the "didache" (catechetical instruction); beyond both is "doctrina" (doctrinal preaching and theology). The college teacher will have to return to the profound

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intelligibility of the faith and its ramifications in all fields of human culture. "Kerygma" will be necessary, even in college, but its place will be in the pulpit.

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Fribourg, Switzerland

TO THE EDITORS: In the midst of preparing my final examination for the doctorate in sacred theology at the University of Fribourg, I read Father Tavard's article on "Theology in the Catholic College" [May 31]. As a one-time undergraduate in a Catholic girls college I must agree with Father Tavard's remarks concerning the mediocrity of college theology courses. As a teacher who has had eight years of experience in teaching college philosophy and theology I must disagree with the presentation of the problematic in Father Tavard's article, in which he states that there is a "fundamental choice" to be made by most theology departments—"between a watered-down course of scholastic theology" on the one hand and "kerygmatic theology" on the other.

The idea of a "kerygmatic" theology which came into being in the late thirties in the writings of F. Lakner and J. B. Lotz was a conception of a second theology, which would be vivid and concrete, and whose laws of development would be different from those of strictly scientific theology. It was proposed that whereas the progress of scientific theology is by way of clarification of concepts and logical connection of truths, this new theology would progress according to vivid and concrete expression of Catholic doctrine. The idea of "kerygmatic theology" had its very brief hour of success in Europe years ago, and as Karl Rahner, S.J. writes (in *Lexikon fur Theologie und Kirche*): "With justice, this theory found no approval." After its European burial the idea seems to have had a kind of American resurrection in the form of a proposed solution to the problem of college theology, where the desperate situation cries out for a quick remedy. I am convinced that it is no remedy, at least in the manner in which it is generally proposed, as a nebulous existential something which is "another theology."

Since the subject of theology, which is God, is supremely one, theology is and always must be one. Father Rahner's criticism of the kerygmatic theology idea is based upon his realization of this truth. If *theology* and not just inspirational stuff is to be given in college, it must truly be a participation in this one theology—"one" not in the sense of a monolithic lump, but as having a profound inner harmony in diversity, at the same time reaching down into the concrete and striving for totality of vision. Theology *is* a science—not in the modern sense, as Father Tavard points out—but in a far deeper sense, which is that which Thomas Aquinas pointed out. Theology is a science which is a participation of God's own knowledge and of the knowledge of the blessed in heaven. It may be participated in varying degrees and ways, and college theology has as its purpose—insofar as it really is theology—the realization in the student of this participation. Its primary goal is knowledge—not factual information, but living understanding.

Does my rejection of a second, kerygmatic theology put me on the first side of Father Tavard's proposed option? Is the only alternative "watered-down scholastic theology"? The overtones of this expression are dark and formidable. Still, it is interesting to consider what the expression might mean. St. Thomas wrote his *Summa Theologica* as a watered-down textbook for beginners. He said so himself in the prologue. This means that he adapted himself to his students' minds, and in so doing he wrote what is probably the greatest theological treatise ever produced. If watering down is done only insofar as is necessary and only for the purpose of drawing up as far as possible, this can hardly be less than laudable.

As for "scholastic"—this is admittedly a bad word. You might say it fairly reeks with the accumulated associations of dead disputes, anachronistic manuals full of sterile syllogisms, closed pedantic minds, and in a word (cough) dust. It has none of the zest of such words as kerygmatic and existential. But in scholasticism, in its sources—not the dead manualists but the great theologians—lies the great depth and riches of living thought. Maybe this is why you so often hear the expression "watered-down scholasticism" but never "watered-down kerygmatic theology." Couldn't it be a kind of left-handed compliment—implying that there is a richness there which permits of and even requires dilution? It is nothing less than these riches of real theology—arduously attained and not always dazzling because deep—that as a teacher I would want to communicate to my students, to the fullest degree of which they are capable.

What is wrong with college theology? Just this: that it is not theology and therefore cannot realize the values of which Father Tavard speaks. It is an attempt to get across the message without use of the instruments necessary for theological understanding, notably philosophy. As Father Tavard says, the end is not to impart factual information but to make an impression. This is what theology is—an *impressio divinae scientiae*—and this is a reality which by and large does not yet exist in the college and which is perhaps rare also in seminaries. Why it is like this? Everyone knows that it is because there is a lack of qualified teachers, and that the appointment of those who have themselves never understood what theology really is, and who have retained a strong distaste for

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it since their seminary days is no solution. A great and dynamic teacher knows and loves his subject as well as his students. The heart of the problem is on a higher level than that of the college itself.

It seems ironic that in Europe, where because of the structure of the educational system, the need for teachers of theology is far less, the opportunity for the development of lay theologians is far greater. It is true that there are a number of good M.A. and Ph.D. programs in America which offer courses in sacred doctrine. However, these are aimed primarily at producing teachers rather than scholars and are limited to the pursuit of a more modest goal than to the training of theologians, strictly speaking.

At my last inquiry, laymen were theoretically admitted to the theological faculty at Catholic University but hardly attracted there in large numbers. (This was in 1959 but I am quite sure the situation has not changed.) Women were barred completely from access to a full program of theological studies leading to the S.T.D. in the United States. Laymen and women are admitted to theological faculties in Canada (University of Ottawa will admit laymen and women to S.T.D. but I think no one has yet gone there), Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and France. In Germany and Austria in particular, theology lectures are attended by large numbers of laity, and the doctorate in sacred theology is available to laymen and to women. There is openness in discussion and no stifling atmosphere of clerical authoritarianism. It is on the "graduate" university level in America that the awakening must come.

MARY DALY

Reply

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO THE EDITORS: My two friendly critics seem to fall into the same error of being so fascinated by a word that they argue where there is no argument—except on words: a most untheological procedure, but one which is likely to confirm many in their idea that theology is all a matter of words.

These words are "kerygmatic" for the one and "scholastic" for the other. I did not use the word "kerygmatic," as Miss Daly misreads me, in a sense which could have been understood in Germany in the late 1930's but would be totally unknown in America in 1963. I used it exactly in the sense which Miss Daly herself explains beautifully in her description of the theology of the great scholastics.

Father Egan's misreading of my use of the word "scholastic" seems more serious. Where I write "watered-down scholasticism," he reads: "St. Thomas Aquinas" and where I object to "the method of a scholastic course," he reads: "the principles of St. Thomas" and makes me say that "St. Thomas is inadequate in theology." My problem is not to trace back theological principles to their Thomistic formulation: I have no quarrel with this, although I do object to the mania of looking for St. Thomas everywhere. His philosophical insights pervade *Pacem in Terris:* admittedly, but so do the insights of St. Augustine or St. Bonaventure, to say nothing of the Greek Fathers. So what?

Nor am I concerned with the way Calvin, Barth, Brunner or Tillich may follow the outline of the *Summa* from a distance, but with the way a teacher falls back on the index of the *Summa* and on selected passages in an English translation which usually betrays the original. That such is often the case is equivalently admitted by Father Egan when he recognizes that "good 'scholastic' teachers" are rare. The fact that "good 'kerygmatic' teachers" are just as rare does not do away with the basic problem, which I will try to formulate in a better way.

Unless I am mistaken, the method and contents of college theology courses result from the convergence of two lines: one starts from the "catechism" or "religion" courses given in high schools, the other from seminaries. Along the first line, a college theology course is little more than a repetition of what students have heard in high school: it is not theology. Along the second line, college theology is made of seminary courses more or less "adapted" to lay students: according to the knowledge and ability of the teacher this may be theology, but—and here is the point of my contention—according to the spiritual and intellectual needs of students, it is largely irrelevant. I am willing to admit all sorts of exceptions for brilliant teachers and better than average students, yet I believe that this remains true of most colleges. The deserving efforts of the Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine have made no substantial difference yet to the situation. Were there no real problem and no choice to be made, there would be less demand and more offer for "a theology for the laity," a theology where the Christian layman can recognize himself.

A theology for the laity must remain theology: Miss Daly, Father Egan and myself will be in total agreement on this. But can it be developed by "professional theologians" without a constant exchange of thought with the practitioners of human disciplines that are not formally theological, I think this is not possible: this is why close cooperation of all Faculties is a prerequisite of good college theology. Can it even be developed without the contribution of lay students who come to theology without the philosophical preparation that may ideally be useful? I believe not. This is why I ask for a theology which does not filter down from teacher to student, but which arises from the dialogical situation in which teachers and students are confronted with the truth and with each other's awareness of and infidelity to it. *(Rev.)* GEORGE H. TAVARD

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THE SCREEN

Those Dogs of War Again

VERY MUCH mistaken were the critics and commentators last fall who predicted we'd seen the last of war films when "The Longest Day," the lengthy and definitive portrait of D-Day, turned up with all its tunes of death and glory. The war pictures go on and on, and perhaps always will—as long as audiences show an enthusiasm for them, and right now, strangely enough, the enthusiasm continues. A new batch is on our screens, each with a more or less conventional theme, and each straining to present something different to win attention.

What mainly makes "PT 109" different is that it is certainly the only war movie whose hero, an amiable, 26-year-old Naval lieutenant (j.g.), not only became President of the United States, but is also still presiding. Perhaps producer Bryan Foy and director Leslie H. Martinson did the best they could with this somewhat ticklish situation. The script, written by Richard L. Breen and based on Robert J. Donovan's book, is a rather bland affair with pat dialogue and little revelation of character. But it must be said in favor of everyone connected with "PT 109" that although the film treats Lt. (j.g.) John F. Kennedy with the respect and admiration he merits for his courage under fire in 1943, it makes no reference to our hero's future.

Cliff Robertson plays this lead role exceedingly well and attempts no imitation or caricature; and he is surrounded by a good supporting cast, including James Gregory, Ty Hardin, Robert Blake, Robert Culp, and many others, most of whom are a little too handsome and heroic to suggest realism, but all of whom pitch in and add their rough-and-ready bit when the action gets lively. The film is far too long for the story it is telling, but after the preliminary horseplay showing Kennedy and his exec (Hardin) whipping a crew and a battered PT boat into shape in the South Pacific, the excitement really starts. The shots of 109 being cut in half by a Japanese destroyer, Kennedy leading his crew to safety, and the struggle for survival in the Japanese-held straits are all quite thrilling. As a movie, "PT 109" may not be a world-beater, but it's bound to increase esteem for its daring young lieutenant (j.g.).

ALSO BASED on a factual account is "The Great Escape," a first-rate war film stemming from Paul Brickhill's book about the amazing mass breakout of American and British air force officers from a German maximum-security P.O.W camp during World War II. Realizing that it is the duty of imprisoned officers to escape or at least harass the enemy by trying to escape, the German Kommandant (very well played by Hannes Messemer) takes every precaution to keep his prisoners in. His camp, a new one for prisoners who have already attempted escape from other camps, is neat, clean, decently run, and very well guarded. But to the Allied officers, escape is a chess-like game as well as a duty. How these men plan and execute their escape is shown in fascinating detail and in excellent cinema style that make the picture exciting from beginning to end.

John Sturges, who gave the film its handsome production with stunning color photography of Germany in the camp as well as the surrounding countryside when some seventy men escape, also gave "The Great Escape" its skillful direction. The well-written script, by James Clavell and W. R. Burnett, involves an unusually large male cast in a series of episodes in the camp during the digging of the tunnels and outside after the men escape and some go their separate ways. Sturges succeeds in building characterizations and letting us know these men, and the cast respond well to his direction. Space does not permit me to list them all, worthy as the performances are throughout the film, but I take pleasure in calling your attention to the good portraits by Richard Attenborough, James Donald, Donald Pleasence, among the British, and Steve McQueen, James Garner, Charles Bronson, Jud Taylor, among the Americans.

There have been many P.O.W. and escape movies, some on a serious level and some as comedies. "The Great Escape" successfully combines the somber aspects and the humorous. No doubt this, plus the vivid characterizations, is what gives the picture its atmosphere of reality. The scene in which the Americans put on a Fourth-of-July celebration for their British cousins is hilarious. Again and again the comedy serves to relieve some of the tension of the grim incidents, but the comedy does not detract from the tragedy of war or the men's many failures before and after the escape. Actually "The Great Escape" is a heart-warming testament, with all its joys and sorrows, to man's will to be free.

THOSE WHO like their movies to be more satirical in an anti-war vein should find "The Good Soldier Schweik" to their liking. This 1961 German film stems from the famous Czech novel by Jaroslav Hasek which was, I believe, first published in the United States in 1930. Its hero is a booby in the vein of Harold Lloyd, Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin—an innocent who bumbles through the war and survives after wiser men are long gone. Played with warmth and artful simplicity by the fine German actor, Heinz Ruhmann, Schweik is not exactly an innocent. He re-sells stolen dogs, but when World War I breaks out, he gets into trouble with the Austria-Hungarian authorities by being too outspoken. And when he befuddles the medicos, he is declared a certified idiot, but is yanked into the army anyway. As an orderly to a lieutenant who is

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busier with his love affairs than with war, he proves invaluable to his superior until his bumbling gets them both sent to the front. Although episodic, "The Good Soldier Schweik" is well directed by Axel Von Ambesser, and, like "The Great Escape" successfully mixes comedy and tragedy. Essentially the film is about the idiocy of war and bitingly makes fun of army discipline, red tape, and stupid officers. In spite of his nonsense, Schweik gets philosophical every now and then and says, "There must be a deeper meaning in all this." Perhaps the deeper meaning is that fools rush in and manage to outlast the wise guys—or maybe the fools aren't as foolish as they seem.

MOVIEGOERS who prefer their war films on the arty side should certainly see "My Name Is Ivan," a Russian picture nicely handled by a new director, Andrei Tarkovsky. It tells a poignant story of a twelve-year-old boy (beautifully played by Kolya Burlaiev) who serves as an intelligence scout for the army in World War II. Having seen his mother and sister killed by the enemy, he is bitter and ruthless in his work and he wins the respect and admiration of his officers. At times director Tarkovsky expects too much of his audience and does not always make clear where the action is taking place; and the film's finale, actually an epilogue, is sheer sentimentality. But most of the picture, with its lovely photography and effective flashbacks that show Ivan's earlier and happier childhood (or what he could be doing now if it weren't for war), is like a visualized lyrical poem—and well worthy of your attention even when it verges on bathos. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Lippmann Distilled—An Apprehensive View of Mass Society

The Essential Lippmann. By Walter Lippmann. Edited by Clinton Rossiter and James Lare. Random House. $7.50.

by Walter Dean Burnham

OURS IS the fate of the denizens of the Tower of Babel. We yearn for a lost unity—a coherence, a purposiveness to human existence which we find sadly lacking in our own world. Lacking it, we turn on ourselves and our fellows in fear and despair, until the Tower threatens to come crashing down on our heads as it has so often in the past.

Walter Lippmann's name is known to every literate American. From the days of President Taft to those of President Kennedy he has poured forth millions of words of counsel and reflection to the American people. Latterly, through the medium of television, he has reached a wider audience than ever before. This book, expertly edited by Clinton Rossiter and James Lare, seeks to capture out of all these words the most central of this man's thoughts about politics; indeed, it may properly be called his political testament.

What are the major themes of this testament? The mood which pervades it from beginning to end, over the span of fifty years of writing, is a tormented awareness that the values and institutions which he cherishes most in the public realm are disintegrating under the remorseless blows of change. Moreover, he forcefully argues the conviction that no civilization worth living in can survive their disappearance. He sees disarray all around him: the "revolt of the masses"; the rise of Jacobin or totalitarian forms of democracy; the derangement of governmental functions; the shift from a self-restrained democratic polity based ultimately upon the consensus of a self-conscious aristocracy of virtue and intelligence toward the fragmented democracy of splintered interest groups and mass passions.

In Toynbeean terms, the creative minority which not only founded the society but articulated its larger purposes and evaluated its public policy alternatives with the national interest in mind has been dissolved, and the society has consequently broken down. Lippmann has thus squarely presented one aspect of a central problem of politics: what happens to a society which cannot or will not secure good and virtuous rulers? He seeks to resolve another aspect of this same question—How to secure them?—by defining and restoring what he calls "the public philosophy."

One of the many virtues of this compiliation is that the components of this "public philosophy" are brought into closer and more revealing juxta-position than ever before. This philosophy is essentially in the general Western political tradition represented by Aristotle, St. Thomas, Madison and Mill. The "liberal democracy" which he champions is not far removed from Aristotle's "polity": based in the economic realm upon the broadest possible ownership of productive property by an independent middle class, institutionally and ideologically limited in the public sector for the sake of the preservation of individual liberty, informed by a *consensus rei publicae* which is articulated by an elite effectively insulated from mass pressures. This consensus in turn is grounded at bottom upon a natural law which men can discover and to which rulers and ruled alike are bound. The natural law of which Lippmann speaks is, of course, nowhere defined with precision. It seems to be for him a general but inexorable law of limit to the claims which people may validly make upon one another in the political order—a limit arising from the concern for individual human dignity which is central to the great Western tradition of "civility."

We may find this schema strongly appealing on emotional grounds. But there are at least two major weaknesses in Lippmann's universe—aside from the vague retreat to an ex-

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tremely generalized natural law—which must be examined. The first of these weaknesses is that by concentrating upon the putative sins of the masses he fails to achieve or present a complete picture of the problems of today's mass society. This failure in its turn both does a real disservice to the bulk of mankind and intrudes an unnecessarily conservative bias to his entire prescriptive scheme.

As William Kornhauser and other scholars have pointed out, there are two sides to this coin. One of them is indeed described well by Lippmann and other conservative critics of mass society: the degradation of standards of taste and value, the disappearance of consensus and accepted frames of social reference, and above all the extraordinary accessibility of political and cultural elites to non-elite tastes and standards. But there is another side as well. Elites have not only unparalleled technological opportunities to manipulate non-elites, but use them. Moreover, the socially decomposing effects of mass society point in the direction of making these non-elite unprecedentedly available to elite manipulation. Such democratic critics of the present social order as Hannah Arendt, C. Wright Mills and Karl Mannheim have sketched the consequences of this with a thoroughness equalled only by their passion.

It is, for example, misleading in the extreme to argue as Lippmann does that the Nazis won in Germany because the masses abandoned the traditions of civility in order to vote everybody's liberties, including their own, out of existence. Excluded from this description is not only the fact that the Nazis at no time came close to achieving a popular majority in a free election, but the equally compelling fact that their victory was absolutely dependent upon the active support of key big-business and Junker elements in the German elite structure. The point is that the massive and abrupt changes in social environment which have characterized the twentieth century have arisen for the most part from the impact of technological developments which modern polities have had neither the wit nor the will to control for humane ends. The result, not surprisingly, has been social decomposition on a vast scale. To discuss the consequences as though they were primarily or wholly the result of the "revolt of the masses," or of their perverse unwillingness to accept the premises of a traditionally-stated "public philosophy," is to fall into vast intellectual confusion. It would seem at least as valid to argue that "masses" do not "revolt" until the elites have conclusively demonstrated their unfitness to perform their primary social functions. But in any case, far more light is likely to be shed upon the problem by attempting to see the interactive processes as a whole which are at work between individuals, groups and the state in an age of revolutionary transformation.

The second major weakness of Lippmann's world view—indeed, the weakness upon which almost all other criticism of him ultimately hangs—is that this view rarely shows any signs of transcendence of the author's traditionally-oriented, middle-class liberal-arts background. Surely this is a frame of reference which is most valuable in framing a worthy standard for humane values and judgments—as far as it goes. But something more is needed: an awareness of the technological and organizational preconditions of the fantastically complex collective social world in which we live, and some awareness of how these preconditions not only open up but foreclose alternatives before policy-makers and the larger public. This quality Marx had in great, if often perverse, abundance; it was indispensable to his powerful influence as a social theorist.

The great problem of our time, on which our very survival depends, is that of learning how to relate the irreversible development of technology and collectivizing social organization to humane ends. It is not enough for this purpose to reiterate the ends themselves. At least three things are needed to approach a solution of this vital task: first, as complete and realistic understanding of the relationships between technology and modes of social organization as it is possible to achieve; second, the development of realistic and apposite means to relate these social facts to the humane ends we wish to perpetuate; third, and perhaps most difficult, the willingness to concede to change the disappearance or radical modification of the secondary social values and practices which are comfortable and thus vital to us. For humane ends cannot be perpetuated by abstract and traditionalist reiteration, but only through efforts to secure concrete means to their realization within the range of alterna-

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tives which the present world has really permitted us.

Having said all this, the reviewer feels impelled to add that *The Essential Lippmann* is a most welcome addition to the literature of modern political thought. Forms of government, like academic disciplines, are known by the dilemmas they keep. Lippmann has brilliantly evoked those dilemmas for our reflection. There are few men in any age who seek to think largely about the consequences of what we, the busy multitudes and leaders, are doing. There are perhaps even fewer today. Walter Lippmann is one such person—a man who, as Rossiter and Lare point out in their introduction, wishes us well and criticizes only to purge, not to destroy.

Council Confidential

Letters from Vatican City. By Xavier Rynne. Farrar, Straus. $3.95.

by John Leo

ALTHOUGH the true identity of Xavier Rynne is still a source of anxiety to many Catholic hostesses, it has been established that the maiden name of Father F. X. Murphy's mother was "Rynne," while his own middle name is, of course, "Xavier." Putting two and two together, the Boston *Pilot* referred to the American Redemptorist professor in a recent four-column headline as "Father F. *Xavier* Murphy *Rynne*." There are those, however, who await more penetrating investigation. At least one graduate student, perhaps weaned away from the bogs of Joycean scholarship, is hard at work on a textual analysis that promises to put the question to rest for the scientific community.

On a more mundane level, the "Letters from Vatican City" which caused such a sensation in the *New Yorker* last fall, now published in book form, present a number of interesting ironies. The central one is that the best reporting on the Vatican Council should have to appear under a pseudonym—or to put it in more loaded language, that the journalist who best showed the freedom of the Church in action should apparently feel sufficiently unsure of his own freedom to bypass the Catholic press and avoid using his own name.

Another irony deserving a moment's meditation is that Xavier Rynne won a special Catholic Press Association award for the articles. The point is that those articles were essentially collections of material freely available to the U.S. Catholic press representatives in Rome, but which those representatives, in their caution, refused to use.

Xavier Rynne's success is rooted in this simple decision to make available to American readers what was common coin in Rome and much of the European press. Where the Catholic press had perspective but lacked the will, and where the general press had plenty of will and talent but—with the exception of *Time* and to a lesser extent, the *Times* and *Herald Tribune*—only a limited perspective of what was happening, Xavier Rynne was bound to be a smash hit. Another thing Xavier Rynne had going for him was the fact that he is a priest; it is doubtful whether other reporters for the general press could have approached the back-stage maneuvering or human foibles of the Council quite so frankly, or with as much wit.

The book is based on the first two *New Yorker* articles. One, written before the council, dealt chiefly with Curia attempts stack the Council and to cripple the effectiveness of the "open-door" Biblical Institute in Rome. (This article, mimeographed and circulated widely among the Council Fathers, is supposed to have had an important impact on many bishops.) The second article was a brief but absorbing blow-by-blow account of what happened at the Council. Though equally hard on the "conservatives," or "closed-door" Council Fathers, it has been cited as accurate even by those who questioned its fairness.

"Fairness," of course, is a relative term. The author interprets as he goes along, often reaching outside the Council context to smite those he considers particularly vulnerable. Most of the reporting is similarly

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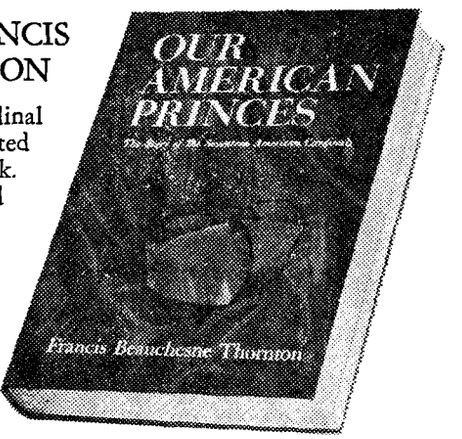

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subjective. In an AP account a bishop may "continue at length," while in a Rynne article he merely "drones on." In this, as in other aspects, Rynne owes something to *Time*-style. The mixture of rumor, anecdote, dabs of color and studied irreverence is common to both, and managed to win *Time's* Rome correspondent a few knowing winks when the question of Xavier Rynne's identity came up.

On re-reading, the *New Yorker* articles stand up very well indeed. The book, however, holds nothing for those who read the articles. The professional polish of Xavier Rynne's prose, apparently supplied by *New Yorker* editors, dims considerably in the book, and the incidence of misspelled names, faulty identifications and wrong dates is about three times as high. In addition, some of the pointedness of the *New Yorker* articles disappears. In the magazine, for instance, when Cardinal Ottaviani spoke overtime, he "suddenly . . . found himself speaking into a dead instrument . . . mouthing inaudible words." In the book he is spared the indignity of having his microphone shut off and is merely "forced to stop."

The value of the book, however, survives the editing. It is, after all, a remarkable synthesis and interpretation on the level of "theological journalism," to use the author's term. By "opening up" the Council to American readers, it may have some effect on the Council's bond of secrecy, which seems to be observed a good deal more strenuously in the Anglo-Saxon world than anywhere else. It may also have a bracing effect on the American Catholic press' coverage of the second Council session. There is, after all, little reason to sit on the news or shield us from the European press when Xavier Rynne is in there taking notes for his next book.

Toward an Understanding of Unbelief

Atheism in Our Time. By Ignace Lepp. Translated by Bernard Murchland, C.S.C. Macmillan. $5.

by Daniel Callahan

EVER SINCE the middle of the nineteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, religion has been on the defensive in the Western world. The story of the various assaults made upon it is now well known; the various 'isms of our day are much too familiar to need recounting here, nor is there any reason to spell out once again the part religion itself has played in bringing about some of the attacks it has received. Less known, however, are the various psychological theories which have been proposed to explain the origin and persistence of religion. Michael Argyle in his book *Religious Behavior* can, for instance, classify six major theories of the psychological origins of religious belief and manage, further, to break down each of the major theories into still more numerous variant subtheories. We all know, for example, of the Freudian-inspired "father projection" explanation of belief in God. But not many believers know about "obsessional neurosis" and "cognitive need" theories.

The moral, if there is one here, is that agnostics and unbelievers have made a much more concerted effort to explain (and explain away) religious belief than believers have made to explain unbelief. This is not to say that believers have failed to defend or to justify themselves. But on the whole, the main line of their defense has simply been an iteration of principles combined with an attack on the untruth of atheism and agnosticism. Rarely have they attempted a subtle analysis of the psychological origins of unbelief; at most they have been content with historical explanations and, in more enlightened circles, with breast-beating about the failure of Christians to make their message more convincing.

The value of Father Lepp's book is that it brings the mind of a priest-psychotherapist to bear on the origins of atheism. His intention is not so much a refutation of atheism as it is a description of the various forms current today. This description is

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made more concrete by some informal accounts of the psychological dynamic of various atheists he has encountered. The most obvious virtue of the book is that it throws some helpful light on the varieties of unbelief, but no less valuable are its comments on the inadequacies inherent in most popular Christians explanations of atheism. Father Lepp makes clear that neither the crude attack on unbelievers as men too weak to bear the demands of Christianity, nor the sophisticated self-accusations of Christians themselves for their failure to give adequate witness, do justice to the contemporary situation.

The charge that atheists are too weak to accept Christianity Father Lepp rightly dismisses: it may be true in some cases but is, in any event, of minor importance in contemporary atheism. On the contrary, he shows that some important thinkers, especially Nietzsche, rejected Christianity because it seems to demand too little of man, not too much. Just as vigorously does he reject the common assumption that every soul is naturally Christian, *anima naturaliter christiana*, and, consequently, the imputation of unconscious belief to many professed unbelievers. Again, he recounts numerous instances of unbelievers who do not show the slightest sign of having that "metaphysical unrest" which the believer assumes must naturally accompany atheism. Nor does he believe that all men have a natural thirst for immortality; his description of his own psychological indifference toward immortality provides, in itself, a valuable instance of a phenomenon that most Christians would deny even exists.

Still, the exposé of the conventional Christian explanations of unbelief are subsidiary to Father Lepp's larger task. "Modern atheism," he asserts, "is rooted in man's desire to break free of all chains that are an obstacle to his liberty and to his dignity." This desire for freedom takes a number of forms. In the case of Marxist and existentialist atheism, the existence of God and the value of religion are denied "not so much in the name of truth as in the name of certain essential values which, in their opinion, would be denied or threatened by religion." Those he characterizes as "rationalist atheists" have, by contrast, intellectual certainty that religion is false. For some unbelievers, religion is something to be resolutely opposed; for others, it is something attractive, of possible significance to those who believe, but nevertheless false. For a small group, atheism is nothing less than a symptom of neuroticism. Here Father Lepp argues that it is perfectly possible for a rejection of God to be traced to a rejecton of the father, thus turning the Freudian explanation on its head.

The remarkable thing about Father Lepp's discussion of the diverse forms of atheism is that he manages to avoid the all but irresistible temptation to take a superior view of the unbeliever. At all times he is even-handed, meting out generous judgments on unbelievers, crediting them with integrity and stability, distinguishing different motives for unbelief. Even when he speaks, more sharply than is characteristic of him of the "unbelief of believers" he finds a kind word for them.

In a sense, this book has no conclusion. Atheism has many roots and many styles, and Father Lepp does not attempt to find an irreducible core. Some atheists are troubled, others are serene. Some atheism can be explained in terms of family origins, some only in terms of personal development. Nor are there any simple villains. Christianity has failed in many cases to make itself persuasive to modern man; but, even so, there is many an atheist who manages to ignore the significance of the most admirable believer even when he is right under his nose.

That a better presentation of Christianity is necessary, that more honest believers are needed, that a new form of apologetic must be shared—all these things are implied and sometimes stated in Father Lepp's study. But what is inescapable for him is the centrality of grace in belief. If this much is recognized fully—and the many prideful and inadequate Christian dismissals of atheism suggest that it is not—then some progress can be made. In the meantime, Father Lepp has cleared out much underbrush: neither the believer nor the unbeliever will find this a comforting book.

REVIEWERS

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